

Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 MONROV 03372 131532Z

22

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
----- 108093

R 131305Z MAY 76
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0186
INFO AMEMBASSY CONAKRY
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE MONROVIA 3372

EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, LI
SUBJECT: GOL BRIEFS NEIGHBORS ON KISSINGER VISIT

REF: MONROVIA 3242

1. FONMIN C. CECIL DENNIS HAS GIVEN ME A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT TOLBERT TO BE CONVEYED TO SECRETARY KISSINGER.
2. LETTER WILL BE POUCHED AND MY COMMENTS FOLLOW SEPTTEL.
3. QTE

MAY 12, 1976

DEAR SECRETARY KISSINGER:

LET ME TAKE THIS OCCASION TO AGAIN EXPRESS TO YOU HOW PLEASED WE WERE TO HAVE YOU WITH US IN LIBERIA DURING YOUR RECENT VISIT TO AFRICA. ALTHOUGH YOUR STAY WITH US WAS BRIEF, IT DID AFFORD THE OPPORTUNITY FOR AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH YOU AS YOUR GOVERNMENT EVOLVES A NEW POLICY TOWARD AFRICA, WHICH SEEMS TO BE MUCH MORE IN HARMONY WITH THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ASPIRATIONS OF THE PEOPLES OF THIS CONTINENT. YOU TOLD US DURING YOUR VISIT THAT THE PRONOUNCEMENTS YOU HAVE BEEN MAKING WERE THE BEGINNING OF A

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 MONROV 03372 131532Z

PROCESS AND NOT AN END IN ITSELF. AS WE INDICATED TO YOU AND

HAVE CONFIRMED IN OUR EARLIER MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT FORD, WE ARE ALWAYS PLEASED TO OFFER SUCH ADVICE AND COUNSEL AS THE CIRCUMSTANCES MAY REQUIRE.

DURING OUR MEETING IN MONROVIA, I INFORMED YOU THAT SINCE MY INCUMBENCY AS PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA, I HAVE ENDEAVOURED TO KEEP MY COLLEAGUES IN COUNTRIES NEIGHBOURING LIBERIA INFORMED OF IMPORTANT EVENTS WHICH OCCUR IN LIBERIA FROM TIME TO TIME. BECAUSE OF THE SIGNIFICANCE OF YOUR VISIT, I INDICATED THAT I WOULD BE BRIEFING PRESIDENT SEKOU TOURE OF THE REPUBLIC OF GUINEA AND PRESIDENT SIAKA STEVENS OF THE REPUBLIC OF SIERRA LEONE ON THE HIGH-LIGHTS OF OUR DISCUSSIONS, ESPECIALLY AS THEY AFFECTED SOUTHER AFRICA AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FOR THIS CONTINENT. MY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS WHO WAS THE BEARER OF SPECIAL MESSAGES TO THESE TWO HEADS OF STATE HAS RETURNED TO ME AND REPORTED THE VERY POSITIVE REACTIONS OF BOTH PRESIDENT TOURE AND PRESIDENT STEVENS WITH REGARD TO THE NEW AND PROMISING DIRECTION WHICH UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY TOWARD AFRICA SEEMS TO BE TAKING. BOTH OF THEM MADE PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO YOUR PRONOUNCEMENTS IN LUSAKA AND MONROVIA AND COMMENDED YOU FOR THEM. I TRUST THAT YOU FOUND YOUR TALKS IN PARIS WITH PRESIDENT HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE IVORY COAST MOST REWARDING.

PRESIDENT SEKOU TOURE HAS SHARED WITH ME HIS VIEWS ON YOUR VISIT TO AFRICA, AND HAS OFFERED AN ADVICE WHICH YOU MAY WANT TO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION AS YOU MOVE TOWARD IMPLEMENTATION OF THE VERY FORTHRIGHT PRONOUNCEMENTS YOU MADE DURING YOUR VISIT TO AFRICA. I QUOTE HEREUNDER RELEVANT PORTIONS OF HIS LETTER TO ME ON THE QUESTION:

"WE HAVE FOLLOWED THROUGH RADIO THE TOUR OF THE AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE, MR. KISSINGER, WE HAVE REGISTERED HIS LUSAKA DECLARATION AS A NEW ORIENTATION OF THE UNITED STATES AFRICAN POLICY. WE HAVE BEEN VERY MUCH IMPRESSED BY IT BECAUSE, LIKE YOU, WE NOTED THAT A VERY GREAT COUNTRY LIKE THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WAS WRONG FOR NOT HAVING CLEARLY ENOUGH INDICATED THE ORIENTATION OF THEIR POLICY IN AFRICA. UNTIL NOW, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA APPEARED AS THE POLICEMAN OF EUROPE WHICH COLONIZED US AND AS BEING ALWAYS READY TO BRING THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THIS EUROPE, AGAINST THE LEGITIMATE INTEREST OF OUR PEOPLES.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 MONROV 03372 131532Z

"NOW THAT THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ARE DEFINING A CLEAR POSITION, FAVOURABLE TO THE ACCELERATION OF THE DECOLONIZATION MOVEMENT IN AFRICA, WE FEEL THAT THEY ARE THEREBY CREATING A NEW CONTEXT WHICH WILL CAUSE THE RISE AND GROWTH OF THE CONFIDENCE AND ESTEEM OF OUR PEOPLES FOR THEM. THIS FACT WILL CREATE IN HISTORY A NEW SITUATION BENEFICIARY BOTH TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA THEMSELVES AND THE AFRICAN PEOPLES AS WELL.

" WE ENTERTAIN THE HOPE THAT BEYOND THE SPEECHES, SINCE INTENTIONS DO NOT MAKE HISTORY, BUT ACTIONS INSTEAD, WE ENTERTAIN THE HOPE, WE SAY, THAT THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WILL PASS TO CONCRETE ACTIONS AND THESE ACTIONS WILL BE IN FAVOUR OF AFRICA AND TO THE HONOUR OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE. THE SINCERE AND STRONG SUPPORT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA FOR THE STRUGGLE OF AFRICA TO THROW OFF THE YOKE OF ALL FOREIGN DOMINATION COULD CREATE A SOLID BASIS FOR COOPERATION BETWEEN AMERICA AND AFRICA AS A WHOLE. ONE SHOULD NOT DELUDE HIMSELF ON THE DIVISION OF AFRICA, BECAUSE IF AFRICA IS IDEOLOGICALLY, RACIALLY AND RELIGIOUSLY DIVIDED, IT REMAINS HOWEVER VERY MUCH UNITED ON THE WATCH WORD OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE WHICH REGAINS THE DIGNITY OF THE CONTINENT AS A WHOLE, AND THAT ON THIS POINT, NO DIVISION IS POSSIBLE EVEN THOUGH SOME ISOLATED INDIVIDUALS COULD BE DEMENTED ENOUGH TO ADOPT AN ATTITUDE CONTRARY TO THIS REALITY.

"MY DEAR BROTHER PRESIDENT, HERE WE THINK THAT IT IS OUR DUTY TO SUGGEST TO YOU A FEW WORDS OF ADVICE WHICH YOU COULD GIVE TO THE AMERICAN AUTHORITIES: HENCEFORTH NOT TO CONSIDER THE AFRICAN PROBLEMS THROUGH THE VERSION GIVEN BY EUROPE OR BY THE PARTISANS OF APARTHEID. THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA MUST CONSIDER THE AFRICAN PROBLEMS AS PROBLEMS SPECIFIC TO THE AFRICAN PEOPLES AND ANY JUST STAND, CONCERNING AFRICA, MUST RESPECT THE UNANIMOUS WILL OF OUR PEOPLES AND THEIR ASPIRATIONS FOR FREEDOM AND SELF-DETERMINATION ON THEIR SOIL. ONE MAY NOT SHARE THE IDEOLOGY PRACTICED BY A REGIME, BUT THIS CANNOT BE A JUST PRETEXT TO BE OPPOSED TO THE FREEDOM

OF THE PEOPLE CONCERNED.

"WHEN THE AMERICAN PRESS, IN ASSESSING THE EVENTS OF ANGOLA, ANNOUNCED THAT 'THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA HAVE BEEN SURPRISED, BUT WILL NOT STAND IDLY BY, WITH REGARDS TO NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA' SUCH A STATEMENT, OR SUCH A POLICY WOULD ONLY OFFEND THE CONSCIENCE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 04 MONROV 03372 131532Z

OF THE AFRICANS AND ALIENATE THEM FROM THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

"WE HAVE SAID THAT FOR THE SAKE OF FREEDOM, AFRICA WELCOMES ANY ASSISTANCE, BECAUSE IT HAS SEVERELY EXPERIENCED SLAVERY, FOR MANY CENTURIES. ITS ONLY GLIMMER OF HOPE IS IN ITS FREEDOM. IT IS THEREFORE UP TO THE FOREIGN COUNTRIES TO DEFINE THEMSELVES EITHER FOR OR AGAINST AFRICAN FREEDOM.

"THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY, FULL AND COMPLETE FREEDOM, THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO DISPOSE OF THEMSELVES, THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO THE FREE CHOICE OF THEIR REGIME IS AN INDEFEASIBLE RIGHT, AN UNCONDITIONAL RIGHT. NOTHING NOR ANY POWER CAN LIMIT IT. NOTHING NOR ANY POWER CAN VENTURE TO POSTPONE ITS ACTUALIZATION. IT IS NOT A RIGHT WHICH CAN BE SATISFIED WITH BEING SIMPLY ENUNCIATED WITHOUT UNDERTAKING WHAT

MUST ACHIEVE IT. IT IS NOT AN ABSTRACT RIGHT, A POTENTIAL RIGHT.
IT IS A CONCRETE RIGHT, THE ACHIEVEMENT OF WHICH CANNOT
LEGITIMATELY SUFFER ANY DELAY. THE VIOLATION OF THIS RIGHT IS A
CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY AS A WHOLE. ANY INDIFFERENCE TOWARDS THIS
RIGHT IS A CULPABLE BEHAVIOUR.

"THE STRUGGLE AMONG THE GREAT POWERS IS A STRATEGIC SUBJECT WHICH IS
OF INTEREST TO THEM. THE IMPORTANCE AND LEGITIMANCY OF THIS
STRUGGLE ARE LESSER COMPARED WITH THE IMPORTANCE AND LEGITIMACY
OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF A PEOPLE, HOWEVER SMALL THAT PEOPLE
CAN BE.

"THUS, IF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ACCELERATE DE-
COLONIZATION, AFRICA WILL NOT UTILIZE ARMS NOR ASK OTHER ASSISTANCE
TO ACHIEVE ITS NECESSARY AND TOTAL LIBERATION. AND WE FEEL, AS
FOR US, THAT IT WOULD BE A POLITICAL AND MORAL DUTY FOR SUCH A
GREAT POWER AS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO ASSIST, THROUGH
DEEDS TO THE REALIZATION OF THIS LIBERATION.

"THE SPEECHES MADE IN LUSAKA AND MONROVIA BY THE AMERICAN
SECRETARY OF STATE CONFIRMED IN US THE IMPRESSION THAT A NEW ERA
IS BEING OPENED FOR AMERICAN POLICY IN AFRICA. FACTS WILL SHOW
WHETHER OUR IMPRESSION IS WELL FOUNDED."

YOU MAY REST ASSURED THAT I SHALL CONTINUE TO UTILIZE MY FINEST
ENERGIES IN ANY MANNER I CAN TO BE HELPFUL IN INSPIRING GREATER
CONFIDENCE IN THE INTEREST OF WORLD PEACE AND SECURITY AND THE
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND AFRICA.

WITH KINDEST REGARDS AND BEST WISHES, SINCERELY, W. R. TOLBERT, JR.
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 05 MONROV 03372 131532Z

UNQTE.
CARTER

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 13 MAY 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: vogelfj
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976MONROV03372
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760186-0334
From: MONROVIA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760558/aaaabxzi.tel
Line Count: 203
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 76 MONROVIA 3242
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: vogelfj
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <26 APR 2004 by SmithRJ>; APPROVED <17 AUG 2004 by vogelfj>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: GOL BRIEFS NEIGHBORS ON KISSINGER VISIT
TAGS: PFOR, LI, XA, (KISSINGER, HENRY A), (TOLBERT, WILLIAM R)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006